5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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relationship. They could conceivably have chosen a different explanation which would have provided a charter for the reinforcement of quite different relationships. If the eruption had not happened at all, the Orokaiva would most probably have taken the same direction, but the charter validating development and baptism would have been weaker for some time. It may be that the exchange ideology would have weakened before development started. The eruption, however, seems to provide Church and government with a most formidable arsenal of negative sanctions in case the relationship is ever broken through the fault of the Orokaiva. We may conclude that the Orokaiva, by their belief in a new kind of divine intervention (through the *dema* figure Jesus Christ), have been encouraged to make new types of economic, social and religious exchanges, while maintaining their assumption of an exchange-oriented universe, and that their philosophy has provided them, at least for a time, with a workable rationale for the contemporary world.

REFERENCES

1. The traditional time concepts of the Orokaiva are probably mainly restricted to what Evans-Pritchard (1939) called 'oecological' and 'structural' time. It is, however, very likely that they also had 'an historical perspective of their own, whatever its depth may be' – rather similar to the one described by M. Panoff for the Maenge (1968). Such a perspective would include not only the *dema* but also the scission of lineages and the settlement of villages. An Orokaiva described lineage fission to me by drawing a tree on the ground – using precisely the same symbolism as Panoff's Maenge informants. Orokaiva stories of the settlement of villages also abound, usually giving the name of the tree by which the settlers 'sat down' when they arrived.

Pocock (1964) has argued that as culture change becomes more rapid under the impact of European contact, traditional time concepts undergo structural transformation to make them more nearly explanatory of the actual course of events. I believe that the identification of Jesus Christ with a *dema*, as argued in this chapter, is an example of such structural transformation.

2. For the location of Torogota, see Fig. 10.
3. Information on this point was derived from several local planters, including Mr. C. E. Searle of Awala. See also Howlett 1965.
4. Details on communication channels between government and people are given in Schwimmer 1967, 1969.
5. The Sasembata mission station is not in Sasembata village but just north of Kongohambo. See Fig. 10.
6. Reay has reported that 'the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption' (*apud* Taylor, 1958: 21). My own study (Schwimmer 1969) suggests that this view, while not strictly incorrect, needs to be modified. My sources are tape-recorded myths and Miss Nancy White's manuscripts (White, n.d.).
7. Interview with Bishop Hand, January 1967.

[p.82 is blank]

512 [178] with the external agencies, but also for the customary subsistence tasks. Quantitative analysis reveals significant patterns to be existing at two levels - between the days of the week and within each day.

(i) The weekly pattern. The Sivepe people speak of Wednesdays as 'Mission day' (for work at Sasembata mission station), Fridays as 'Council day' (for road maintenance and cleaning the village) and Sundays as a day of rest and attendance at church services. Of the remaining days, Monday and Tuesday are devoted to cash cropping, [805] and Thursday and Saturday to subsistence. They claim to have been directed by the Higaturu Local Government Council to work according to this routine and while it is not strictly adhered to, the concept of the week is firmly implanted in the Orokaiva mind (see Table 6:9).

512 461 [196] The basic household tasks and harvesting of subsistence crops are sustained throughout the week with little variation in time allocated, while others tend to be specific to certain days. Sunday (with Wednesday) has the shortest activity day, of 5.6 hours, this being largely a reflection of the Church's insistence that it be treated as a day of rest. Well over half the day's activities are devoted to attendance at church services, the harvesting of foodstuffs, and household tasks. Two other categories of activities assume a greater level of importance on Sundays: social obligations, particularly informal visiting, and other subsistence activities (house construction and the preparation of tools and equipment). Both are connected with the fact that, following church, much of the day is spent in the village. Although church and council work are largely restricted to their allotted days, little time is actually devoted to them and they do not appear to modify substantially the activity patterns for those days; similarly no direct relationship can be drawn between time spent on cash and subsistence cropping and the pattern of activities on the days ascribed to these tasks.

[527] The marketing of subsistence crops is restricted to Thursdays, the day of the Saiho market, while the time devoted to social obligations reaches a peak on Fridays and Saturdays when 'parties' are normally held. Sundays apart, however, the daily variation in activity patterns is not great. The total range in activity time for all the days is only 0.5 hours but on Sundays a smaller proportion of the time is directed towards productive enterprise - only 56 per cent of the total. The other days, with the exception of Friday, fall within the range of 73 to 84 per cent. On Friday only 61 per cent of the time is spent productively, probably because garden tasks are disrupted by council work in the early part of the morning. In general where extra-village activities recur each week, particularly early in the day, the proportion of productive work falls. This is apparent in the case of lengthy tasks such as clearing and sago-making, which are almost entirely restricted to those weekdays free of external commitment.

134 (v) The Avalanche Association consists of riverine deposits of gravel and boulders interbedded with sheets of sand, lying on [197] the floor of the Girua river. It occupies a very small proportion of the Inonda lands, supports a kunai vegetation, and appears to have no potential for either agriculture or forestry.

132 Climate: The climate is hot and moist, except for a hot, relatively dry season which lasts from about July to September. Because of the influence of the Owen Stanley Ranges there is a rapid west-east decline in rainfall over the Orokaiva area. Popondetta has an average annual rainfall of 96 inches so that Inonda, lying 5 miles to the east, probably has a rainfall of 80 to 90 inches. The yearly pattern of rainfall distribution, which is very similar for both Inonda and Popondetta, can be seen from the rainfall recordings for Popondetta given in Appendix C_x^A(1)

●805 824 The Inonda people refer to the dry season as huvira because the huvira tree (Erythrina indica) flowers at that time. The wet season is divided into a number of periods which are recognized by the ripening of various nuts (especially hauga) and edible pit-pit (ina), and by the flowering of the garepa tree. For instance, the garepa season begins about November or December and lasts for two or three months. These are the wettest months of the year and plant growth is therefore rapid at that time. The pasiro (a variety of pit-pit) ripens about [504] March, which is a time of more moderate rainfall. Food is in abundance at this period, and it is accordingly the most popular season for feasting.

132 241 The warm moist climate is generally favourable for plant growth, but because many of the soils are coarse in texture and have low water-holding capacity, even short periods of drought may adversely affect the growth of shallow rooting crops (including the staple food, taro). Deep rooting crops such as coffee, cocoa and coconuts are less affected by the dry periods.

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(1) This average was computed from recordings taken over the 7 year period 1955-61.

A [See Category 132, p. 100--Analyst]

planting is already completed for when the old people see the tauga leaves drop over the newly planted gardens they say that the taro will have good leaves; their virtue is said to come from the tauga leaves that drop. The driest part of the year is now at hand and few taro shoots suitable for planting are developing; hence, the best planting time is past.

6. The flowering of the tauga announces the beginning of the rainy season. This falls around the beginning of October.

7. At about Christmas, immature tauga nuts begin to fall from the trees. This is the beginning of the time of shortage and also the occasion of some further garden magic to encourage the swelling of the main taro crop. Some minor feasts occur around this time. People then begin to look forward to the time the garepa will flower again.

We may compare this with Waddell's statistical data, which compares man-weeks spent on all types of activities in Sivepe over the periods 3 February-3 May, 1964; 20 July-6 September, 1964; and 9 November, 1964-3 January, 1965. His figures do not rally particularly closely with the idealogical pattern set out by informants and he explains this by an untypical rainfall pattern in 1964; it was unusually dry.

Rainfall fluctuations have a profound effect on the yield of the main crop taro. Because of the porosity of the ground, very heavy rainfall is needed to ensure a good harvest. Feasts can be held only in years when the rainfall has been good and the harvest accordingly abundant. In other years people are close to starvation level in the months before the harvest. It is then they rely on supplementary crops such as sago.

In recent years, two further calendars have become superimposed upon the traditional one: that of the Christian festivals and that of the European economy, notably monthly coffee sales from June to December and the payment of Local Government Council tax supposedly in September.

Section 3: Topography

In this section I shall specifically describe the differences in topography between Sivepe and Inonda, but this description will illustrate at the same time the fundamental differences between the ecological base of Orokaiva mountain settlements such as are found on the slopes of Mount Lamington and of the plains settlements found North and East of the mountain. I have drawn my data from a regional land and soil survey done by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation in 1954, as well as from remarks of Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Rimoldi (1966).

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

between the other two. Their existence is known, but some will not see their cognitive genesis. They tend to arise as they are logically implied by the two dominant ones; anyone who does not like 1 and 2 cannot help but think of 3 or 4 or both.

Identification in the Creation of Use Values

When Councillor Colin said that '*pure ari*' did not begin until Jesus Christ (i.e. people did not 'work' before that time) he ignored that *pure ari* in its primary meaning stands for 'to garden' and *pure* is a garden. From an empirical viewpoint we know exactly what goes on in a Sivepe garden, as Waddell has carefully measured it. The daily visit to the garden described by informants as *pure ali* takes a mean of 265 minutes of which 'main task' and 'ancillary tasks' take up in all 44.2% (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 113). The rest is devoted to travel, rest, meals, cooking, washing, other tasks. People always go to the *pure*; they do what they need to do. The amount of 'work' they have does not determine how long they stay. Sometimes they 'work' very hard, sometimes hardly at all.

The gardening tasks are done at a moderate pace which is pleasurable. Rushing and heavy burdens are avoided when possible, but when they are necessary they are classified as 'toil' (*pure gaiha*) and people rest later to make up for it. The only time measures used are: early morning, midday, afternoon (meaning: time to go home) and evening-night (meaning: after supper). Though gardens have a principal crop, mostly taro, the subsidiary crops, ornamental trees, garden house etc. are charmingly landscaped so that the garden is in a sense an artistic creation (Malinowski 1935; F. Panoff 1969). Whether rows are regular and what is the general standard of husbandry are very much individual matters. It is said that by looking at a person's garden one can read his or her character. Among the Orokaiva the girls are said always to look at a boy's garden before marrying him. De Coppet (1976) reports the same for the Are'are of Malaita, except that it is the girls who are more under scrutiny. The criteria would partly be the style of the garden, showing a pattern of mind, but also and largely the size of the garden, the size and the health of the plants, the quality of the varieties.

One could keep on with such description for a long time without coming closer to defining garden work as a concept. Myths and rites prescribe details of the gardening cycle for each of the principal crops while at the same time establishing identification between grower and crop: taro is a mother; a mother Taro is invoked; married women think of their taro as their children. The